1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

imponderabilia of native life which Malinowski so aptly insists be given. 000

It was the goal of the Laboratory group to cover all phases of Comanche culture in its investigations. That that goal was not encompassed must be expected. Limits of time and circumstance produce inevitable shortcomings. For the first portion of the field session, the seven members of the group worked as a single unit in obtaining orientation in the culture and field technique. Later we spread to work with different informants, each investigator focussing his efforts on a particular phase of the culture. Regular exchange of material and discussion of results kept the work correlated. Such unified effort by a number of workers overcomes to a large degree the hampering limitations imposed by time and, as a result, did bring us closer to our goal. 114 121

The method of inquiry was to put pump-priming questions to the informant, who was encouraged to expound to the limit of his knowledge on all subjects where it appeared that he had knowledge to impart. Questions which would evoke a categorical answer were avoided so far as possible. When it came to seeking materials on "law," the questions which I put were designed for the most part to probe into dispute situations, since most law is concerned with definition of conflict of interests. Due to the paucity of published information on the Comanches, preconceptions of what to expect were ruled out. For purposes of classification and analysis a working hypothesis as to what is to be meant by "law" was worked out after the field study had been finished. The formulation of that hypothesis is included in this memoir so that it may be exposed to full criticism. 124

The data used in this work are of course all secondary. Comanche culture as here recorded has been defunct for fifty years and more. That a certain amount of error exists in data recorded so long after the fact is inevitable. In mitigation, however, it must be remembered that the illiterate Indian keeps a better vocal record than we are accustomed to do. The effort was made to check all cases against each other through independent informants. When contradictions appeared the cases were checked still further until a least common denominator seemed found. Most of the cases presented in the text are presented as given by the interpreter. We did our best to train interpreters to translate literally. Those cases given in quotes are presented as recorded (except for slight literary editing), while those cases given without benefit of quotes are paraphrased to obtain condensation. 114 124

The cooperation of the old Comanches who were approached for aid in making this study of their aboriginal culture was most gratifying. With a marked historical sense and a nostalgic pride in their old way of life, they 186 124

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

were generally willing to cooperate to the best of their knowledge. Again and again they expressed the wistful wish that the recordings taken by the Laboratory group may find their way into the hands of their children and grandchildren. "When we are gone, and there is no one to tell them, we want them to be able to read it in the book," they said. We, the investigators, were often subjected to impromptu quizzes by the informant when we came to the end of a particularly difficult problem, so that the Indian could satisfy himself that what had been written was written correctly. The Comanches revealed a genuine desire for completeness and accuracy in the production of their ethnology.

Finally, the reader must keep in mind that this memoir is not a complete Comanche ethnography. I have tried to keep the treatment of all phases of political and legal problems in their proper cultural context. Even so, it is possible that a magnified picture of Comanche law may result. The reader is warned to make his own corrections for distortion by doing his best to keep the broader cultural background of Comanche society constantly in mind.

The contribution of the Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology towards the publication of this memoir has been made possible by a grant extended by the Southwest Society. The author's sincerest appreciation is extended to these two organizations and to the American Anthropological Association for their generous interest and aid in making publication possible.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

those countries, he laughed me to scorn, arguing that its 823
inhabitants would have to walk with their heads downward, and must necessarily fall off; besides, the premise upon which rested the superstructure of the argument was false, inasmuch as the earth was not round, but flat, a fact patent to the naked eye.

I described a train of cars, wooden tents placed above 000
rolling wheels, filled with a crowd of people outnumbering all his tribe, forced by the power of steam, such as he saw rise from the water boiling in his kettle, along an iron trail, faster than he ever saw the wild horse run across the prairie —endeavored to explain how they could converse, however distant from each other, through the marvelous electric telegraph, describing the immensity of their towns, the number of their warriors; in fine, whether under his own tent in the village, or encamped on the prairie after a day's hunt, he was constantly interrogating me upon some subject connected with their manners, customs, or inventions. Usually, 186●
when I had concluded, the old man would remain silent a long time, absorbed in deep study, from which he would, at length, arouse and exclaim—"Wonderful! wonderful! are the works of the white man, but the Great Spirit will destroy them all!"

The Rolling Thunder evidently entertained a favorable 584
opinion of me. This was shown soon after my arrival in his camp, by insisting that I should take a wife. I took the matter into serious consideration, endeavoring to decide in my own mind what effect it might have on the chances of escape. The conclusion was that the effect would be favorable, and, accordingly, I signified to the chief that "Barkis was willin'."

The next step was to make a selection from the dusky daughters of the tribe, a matter about which I felt dis-

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

ing from the rising to the setting sun. Their fortifications crowned the summits of the mountains, protecting their populous cities situated in the intervening valleys. They excelled every other nation which has flourished, either before or since, in all manner of cunning handicraft—were brave and warlike—ruling over the land they had wrested from its ancient possessors with a high and haughty hand. Compared with them the palefaces of the present day were pigmies, in both art and arms. They drove the Indians from their homes, putting them to the sword, and occupying the valleys in which their fathers had dwelt before them since the world began. At length, in the height of their power and glory, when they remembered justice and mercy no more and became proud and lifted up, the Great Spirit descended from above, sweeping them with fire and deluge from the face of the earth. The mounds we had seen on the tablelands were the remnants of their fortresses, and the crumbling ruins that surrounded us all that remained of a mighty city.

In like manner, continued the Rolling Thunder, the day will surely come when the present white race, which is driving the Indians before it, and despoiling them of their inheritance, and which, in the confidence of its strength, has become arrogant and boastful and forgotten God, will be swept from existence. For the Great Spirit is *just*—and as certainly as the rivers flow downward towards the salt sea, or the sun rises in the morning and sets at night, so certainly will He yet restore the land of their fathers to the red man, when the days of his affliction are passed.

It would, indeed, be difficult to adopt any other hypothesis than the one entertained by the chief. The evidence before me was too clear and palpable to be controverted,

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

that at some period, more or less remote, this valley had been inhabited by a people skilled in architecture and evidently possessing, in a high degree, a knowledge of mechanism and the arts. Whether the Rolling Thunder's account of their destruction is correct, or his belief that their successors will eventually be disposed of in the same summary manner is orthodox, will admit of argument; nevertheless, there is no doubt that, in common with all the tribes of the Comanches, he entertains this belief, in genuine sincerity. It is this unwavering faith in the future ascendancy of the red man, and the final restoration to him of all the possessions he has lost, which prompts him to perpetual resistance, and which so often led the Rolling Thunder to exclaim, after I had described some marvelous invention—"Wonderful, wonderful are the works of the white man, but the Great Spirit will destroy them all."

After leaving the volcanic valley and ascertaining the feeding grounds of the bison, we returned to the village, and soon again set forth on the yearly buffalo hunt. It is a singular fact that on these excursions the hunters are followed by droves of wolves. They seem to have an instinctive knowledge of the business in which the party is about to engage. As soon as the skin is stripped from the buffalo they surround the carcass and devour it. To wake in the dead of night, after dreaming, peradventure, of early home and friends, to find yourself under a rude tent, in those far distant wilds, surrounded by a savage tribe, produces sensations, lonely and desolate indeed—but terror mingles with the sense of desolation when, all around, the adjacent solitudes are vocal with the barking and snarling and howling of wolves, gorging themselves at their midnight feasts.

It was at such times as these my soul longed to reach once

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

114 *Barrier to South Plains Settlement.* His work, however, makes no serious attempt to describe and analyze their society and culture or to tell their whole story.

Anthropologists have written a few limited and specialized accounts of several aspects of the Comanche way of life, but no more than the historian have they attempted to round out the picture.

121 The writing of this book was undertaken to present in a single piece the salient facts of Comanche history and culture in a way that will satisfy the interests and curiosity of the general reader and also the anthropologist and the historian. This means that although we have endeavored to hold fast to the highest canons of historical and scientific accuracy, we definitely have not undertaken to write an ethnographic monograph. We have striven to give meaning to the story of the Comanches, but we have avoided inclusion of the kind of technical discussion that interests only the professional social scientist. Such considerations are best left for presentation in the professional journals.

114 Our sources, as will become evident in the reading of this book, exist in direct field work among the Comanches on the part of both authors, in published and unpublished data recorded by other scientific investigators, and in published and unpublished historical documents.

Ernest Wallace did most of the archival research and in the summer of 1945 interviewed a number of Comanches. E. Adamson Hoebel did field work among the Comanches as a member of The Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology party in 1933. Professor Ralph Linton of Yale University, as director of the Santa Fé Laboratory project, has given us generous permission to draw on all the field notes of this expedition. They contain much information on the Comanches that has been hitherto unpublished. Professor Linton's keen insight in Comanche culture has furnished us with many valuable leads that have made our work much easier and greatly enhanced its significance.

Although in earlier days the Comanches were thought to be recalcitrant and unfriendly to whites, we have enjoyed nothing but happy relations with them. They are good friends and co-operative collaborators. They evinced a strong sense of the historical values of our studies. It was their urgent desire that the record of their story

[186]

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

and their ways should be true and adequate. They want their children and grandchildren to be able to read this book when they are gone. The memories of the old ways are to survive in print.

The chief informants used by Mr. Wallace were Wiley Yellowfish, *Pakawa* (Kills Something), John *Padoponi* (See How Deep the Water Is), *Pohawe* (Medicine Woman), and *Tawaka*. When these Comanches are cited, it means that the data in question were recorded from them by him in the summer of 1945.

The chief informants used by the Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology group were Post Oak Jim, *Nayia* (Slope), *Tasuta* (That's It), *Quasia* (Eagle Tail Feather), *Tɛnəβɜkə* (Gets to Be a Middle-aged Man), Frank *Chikoβa* (Breaks Something), *Nɜmɜtuiβɛtsə* (She Invites Her Relatives), *Hɜkiyani* (Carrying Her Sunshade), George *Kɔwino*, and Howard White Wolf. When these Comanches are cited, it means that the data were recorded from them by Mr. Hoebel or by other members of the Laboratory of Anthropology group in 1933.

The Reverend Robert Chaat served as interpreter and informant for Mr. Wallace in his work. Mr. Herman *Asenap* (Greyfoot) and Mr. Norton *Tekwitchi* (Skinny and Wrinkled) were the indispensable interpreters and go-betweens for the Laboratory field party.

We are also indebted to many other persons who aided one or the other of the authors in their work. Among these are Professors Walter Prescott Webb and J. G. McAllister of the University of Texas, Mr. Martin Taylor and Mr. Max Penrod, educators to the Comanches, Professor R. N. Richardson of Hardin-Simmons University, Mr. and Mrs. W. C. Holden, Mr. O. A. Kinchen, and Mrs. Ida Vernon of Texas Technological College, and Mrs. Ernesteen Barton. A fond salute is given to the members of the Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology Comanche field party: Gustav G. Carlson, J. Nixon Hadley, Claiborne Lockett, Waldo R. Wedel, and F. Gore Hoebel (an ex-officio member). Mr. Joseph Casagrande generously made the manuscript of his unpublished dissertation on "Linguistic Accommodation to Acculturation in Comanche" available to us.

Illustrations and materials to be used in illustration for this book were kindly provided by the Bureau of American Ethnology, the United States National Museum, the Denver Art Museum, the University of Texas Anthropological Museum, and Texas Technological

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

conciliate the favor of, the Author of the war of elements, I could not determine. Another circumstance induced me to think they might have some notions of a future state. There was a young woman among them, who certainly possessed some traits of character more amiable by far than the most of her race with whom I was acquainted; she sickened and died, when their grief, as usual, was unbounded. I observed to one of the females, that I hoped she was better off than when here; – she smiled, and pointed upwards. The strength of their attachment to each other, and the demonstration they give of the same, even to the dividing of the last morsel with each other upon the point of starvation, might put many professed christians to the blush! But they are just the reverse of all this to all the world beside. They think themselves the cleverest race of men on earth, and treat all others as infinitely inferior to themselves. They have no formal marriages among them. They generally take wives at an early age. Each man is allowed to take five women; but, in making his selection, the ties of consanguinity oppose no barrier; hence they are truly a consanguineous race of so motley a mixture, that it would be impossible to identify the connexions. The distinction, however, [56] might be less obscure, but for the fact, that with them matrimonial alliances oppose no restraint to promiscuous intercourse. The relation of the women to the men differs little from a state of the

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

When he heard of the move and the plan, Horseback, a Comanche Chief of distinction, complained that he did "not think the agent has good sense."[21] Horseback's judgment was sound. The Comanches, wanting neither to farm nor to live among the Kiowas, refused to congregate near the new agency site. Since they refused to move near the agency, they were left largely to their wits. Their grass-fed teams were too small and too weak to break the tough prairie sod near Fort Sill. As a result, they made very little progress in agricultural pursuits until after the reservation had been opened to white settlement and a younger generation had learned something of farming and stock-raising in school.

Agent Hunt realized the futility of attempting to make farmers of the Comanches and advocated that they be made stock-raisers, but he made little progress in his efforts and successive agents adhered to the policy of making farmers of them. During the years preceding the innovation of grass leasing, a few Comanches were persuaded to take up farming to better their economic condition. When Agent Day collected grass-lease rentals, he used part of the money to encourage farming. Agent Day reported that in 1892 the Indians of the reservation cultivated 5,000 acres and the agency an additional 500; that of the 800 acres of sod broken during the year, all but 60 had been broken by the Indians; that the 3,782 Indians on the reservation owned 10,000 horses, 300 mules, 25,000 cattle, 3,000 swine, and 75 sheep and goats; and that agricultural products marketed by the Indians during the year amounted to $3,550.25.[22] The accuracy of the agent's statistics is subject to question. Some of the livestock probably belonged to white ranchers who were clever enough to get free grass on the reservation. In 1910 the agent estimated that two per cent of the Indian population were stockmen, each owning from 10 to 50 head of cattle. At the same time he reported that there were some 600 Indian farmers on the reservation, approximately 15 per cent of the

21. Nye, op. cit., 325.
22. Day, op. cit.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1 15) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

In accordance with the recommendation of Agent Tatum, a separate agency was established for the Wichita and Affiliated Tribes, in 1871, on the Washita River. When Thomas C. Battey arrived on October 31, 1871, to establish a school at the new agency, he found that A. J. Standing for three weeks had been teaching a day school with nine pupils enrolled. Battey converted the school into the Riverside Indian Boarding School, and during the first term of four and one-half months enrolled twenty-four pupils. The curriculum included spelling, reading, writing, geography, and arithmetic. Most students learned to write during the first term. Battey had difficulty getting his pupils to adjust themselves to the new situation. They could not be induced to sit still, and would talk aloud. A flock of wild turkeys near the school caused a general stampede.[31]

During the following year Riverside Indian Boarding School had two teachers and thirty-seven pupils, none of whom were Comanches. A few Comanches had been attending but had moved away from the Washita River after their crops had failed in 1872. Beginning with the third year, the school was unable to take care of all who wanted to enroll, and in 1876-77 seventy-five boys, representing all tribes on the reservation, enrolled.[32]

A new government boarding school was established at Fort Sill in 1879 for the Comanches and the Kiowas. With facilities for only seventy-five pupils, the new school enrolled 118 during its first year. Already it was inadequate. The average daily attendance in 1883-84, as reported by the agent, was 84½.[33]

By 1889 the Indians were dissatisfied with the educational program. With 1,045 Indian children of school age on the reservation, all schools, both government and mission, had a total capacity of only 280.[34] The Comanches, still clinging

31. Thomas C. Battey, *The Life and Adventures of a Quaker Among the Indians* (Boston, 1875), 36-41.
32. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877.
33. Agent Hunt, *Annual Report*, 1879, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1879, 68; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1880, 75, and 1884, 81.
34. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1890, 166.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NC - Comanche NO6

657 to their tribal pride, did not want their children to attend
871 school with children of other tribes. They wanted the Fort
[186] Sill school to themselves. The Kiowas wanted a school nearer their tribal headquarters. The government decided that the time had come to expand and improve the educational system. It agreed to build an additional school, made provision for entering into contracts with religious denominations to establish enough schools to meet the needs, and enacted legislation designed to encourage public schools to admit Indian children. A new and larger school was opened at Fort Sill in 1891, and two years later a government school was established for the Kiowas at Rainey Mountain. This made three government boarding schools on the reservation. Rainey Mountain School was discontinued after a few years, but in its place the government took over St. Patrick's at Anadarko, in 1909, and operated it as Anadarko Boarding School until 1932. Having made provision for schools, Congress in 1891 and 1893 enacted measures for improving the curriculum and for enforcing attendance whenever the circumstances seemed propitious.

For a variety of reasons, the government schools continued to be the most popular. They were operating 30 per cent above capacity in 1896, and a decade later, with a total student capacity of 454, they had a reported average daily
[874] attendance of 430.[35] By 1910 six grades were taught; the practical vocational courses had become a part of the curriculum; and expert supervision had been inaugurated. Fort
657 Sill School was rated best.[36] By 1930 each government
871 school taught nine grades and maintained a modern farm
874 which the students were required to help operate. Fort Sill
242 School with 204 pupils had 220 acres in cultivation that year, and produced $13,500 in livestock and dairy products.[37] Beginning in 1935 an additional grade was added each year until there were twelve. All students above the sixth grade in 1945 were required to spend the equivalent of two days each week in vocational work. At that time Riverside In-

35. Ibid., 1896, 254; 1906, 310.
36. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1910.
37. Buntin, op. cit., sec. II, 24-27.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 make the cultural transition they have been called upon to
178 accomplish. As a result of its work, many tribal superstitutions
177 are being discarded for modern scientific concepts.
[757] Although hardly a Comanche would accept a white physi-
[756] cian at the beginning of the reservation period, the Indian practitioner today is almost a forgotten man.

186 The Comanches are still confronted with many sociolog-
178 ical and psychological problems of adjustment. They have
177 not entirely disintegrated, nor have they been completely
182 assimilated. They are still Indian and want to follow the Indian pattern; their environment, experience, and teaching encourages them to discard it. They are intensely proud of being Comanche, and cherish their cultural heritage. They feel that they were unjustly robbed of their homeland, but know that they must make the best of their situation. The conflict between the old and the new often prevents the acceptance of any regular pattern of conduct and leads to confusion or unusual situations.

[291] The matter of custom is vital to the Comanches. It is
[302] difficult to discard tradition. Some old women still wear their blankets, and a few old men continue to paint their faces and to wear their hair in plaits. The tradition of gen-
431 erosity does not fit well in American society for it is an im-
[454] pediment to economic security. Their idea of a pleasant life does not include saving, because saving had no place in their primitive society. The give-away dance has not entirely disappeared, and those who give are the losers and afterwards may seek the aid of the government.

157 There still exists a strong incentive toward the glorifica-
181 tion of the individual. This character trait was a regular
[178] feature of the old social system, where the aim of the warrior was to gain glory and where there was constant acknowledgment of his achievements. It led to an immense
[152] sensitiveness to praise and censure. The Comanches, as a result, require more praise than the white man to function,
157 and they suffer more than the white man from censure. The
181 attitude was readily apparent in 1945. More than two hun-
701

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

DAVID G. BURNET'S LETTERS DESCRIBING THE COMANCHE INDIANS WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY ERNEST WALLACE

When the United States purchased Louisiana Territory from France in 1803, she acquired within its upper and western limits several powerful Indian tribes of which the Anglo-Americans had very little or no knowledge. The Comanche was one of these tribes. They had abandoned the upper Missouri-Yellowstone region during the Eighteenth Century for the southern high plains adjacent to the northern settlements of New Spain. The vast domain lying between the Arkansas River and the South Texas Hill Country and between the Cross Timbers on the east and the Pecos River and the mountain ranges of eastern New Mexico and Colorado on the west the Comanche regarded as *Comancheria*, and for more than a century few there were, either red men or white, who intruded against their will.

Convinced of the superiority of their own way of life, the Comanche resolutely refused to compromise with white civilization until they had been defeated and confined to a reservation. No real mutual trust and friendship ever existed between them and any of their white neighbors. Seldom did a white visitor remain within a Comanche village longer than necessary, and it was most unusual for a Comanche to visit a white settlement except to war and plunder. Consequently, reliable accounts of early Comanche society are rare and meager.

One of the earliest and best descriptions of Comanche society by an Anglo-American observer appeared during 1824 in *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette* in serial form under the heading "Indians of Texas." The article is a series of five letters published in six installments. The first four letters, according to the introductory statement, constitute

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1951 NO6 Comanche ,06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 771 which has never been shadowed to their minds, except by the faint and flickering light of nature. The beams of divine revelation have never penetrated the dismal mists that constitute their moral atmosphere. They nevertheless believe in a final accountability, in which they plainly, but perhaps unconsciously, indicate a sentiment of the omniscience and ubiquity of the Great Judge of Heaven and Earth. By an obvious and natural impulse of unenlightened reason, which is most apt to prefigure the joys and sorrows of a future state, by the experience of the past and present, they suppose that when a good man dies, he goes to a fertile and salubrious country where the Buffaloes, which furnish their principal and favorite aliment, and every desirable species of game are abundant, and where they will enjoy the charms of the chase, with a more exquisite zest, without interruption and without satiety. The reverse of this destiny is assigned to the wicked, who they imagine will be driven away, to linger out a miserable existence, among rugged and sterile hills that are infested with all manner of noxious animals, and where the Buffaloes, Deer and Bears are scarce, and meagre and unsavory to the palate. Goodness, however, in their system of ethics, is a qualified term that has reference to acts of public benefit and renown, such as taking of scalps, expert and successful hunting, and dexterity in stealing from their enemies, rather than to the gentler virtues, that adorn and humanize and purify the heart.

175 771 776 [186] 175 771 [82] [753] [793] [796] They believe in polytheism and in both good and evil spirits of either sex, but claim supremacy to the one Great Being, whom they represent as a Big Man, that can never die, and who is the peculiar original parent of the Comanchee race. The origin of other nations they assign to other subordinate Deities, and as their father is the Greatest God in Heaven, so they think themselves the greatest nation on earth. They attribute an inferior modicum of divinity to the sun, and suppose all febrile diseases to emanate from the displeasure of that magnificent candle of nature. They have no order of priesthood, but are not altogether exempt from the juggles of priestcraft. They have no symbols of true faith, neither do they know any distinction of days or seasons.

21: Burnet T 5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche .06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

than any other people whatever. Foppery in all its contemptible gradations, of dress, deportment and mental nothingness and insipidity is the prevailing characteristic of the young men. An Indian Dandy would, to be sure, be an amusing *unique* in the circles of fashion; but if you could transport a full dressed Comanchee buck into a coterie of our most exquisite "Delectables," my word for it, he would eclipse them in all the essential properties of that profession. The squaws from the infancy are too completely servile to bestow either time or solicitude on the ornaments of person. The men are large, and well proportioned and generally, good looking—the women, as much the reverse as human nature will bear. As a nation, they think themselves the most numerous and powerful on earth—and will listen with incredulous wonderment to a recital of facts that controul this flattering opinion.—So true is it that ignorance and vanity are inseparably allied.

The Comanchees do not cultivate the earth, but subsist for the most part on the erratic Buffaloes which descend into their district in the fall, in pursuit of a verdant herbage, and return in the spring, (such of them as survive the depredations of their numerous biped enemies) to their northern range. It has been remarked that the number of Buffaloes that annually reach the regions inhabited by the Comanchees, has sensibly diminished within a few years. In the event of a serious failure of that munificent provision of nature, these and other tribes of similar habits, will be compelled to resort to agriculture, or to recede northwardly in pursuit of their ancient prey. The former of these alternatives would be difficult of adoption, on account of their native inertness and aversion to labor; and the latter would probably be rendered impracticable by the jealousy of other tribes, who already occupy the northern wilds.

These wandering savages have made but small advances in the domestic arts. Their lodges or tents, are formed of Buffaloe hides dressed to a suitable consistency, and erected on poles, in the shape of an elongated cone, having an aperture at the top to emit the smoke, which purpose it answers but very imperfectly. They are exces-

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

657 in his old savage way. Then, when his blankets were worn out
648 and game became scarce and stealing unprofitable he would return to repeat the process.[10] On one occasion this chief almost
648 started a war between the Comanches and the Indians on the Brazos reservation. With Ka-tem-e-see and about seventy-five warriors he went to that reservation and approached the Anadarko village in a threatening manner. The women and children of this and neighboring villages fled and panic seized the entire Indian community. Fortunately the veteran Anadarko chief, Jose Maria, was looking for trouble, had his men armed and prepared for action and informed the intruders that he was ready either for "fight" or "talk." The Comanches chose to talk and through the efforts of the Brazos agent, S. P. Ross, and his interpreter, Jim Shaw, violence was avoided. When called upon to explain their extraordinary conduct, the Comanches, evidently much embarrassed at the turn the affair had taken, said that all was well, they were satisfied, but they wished to ask just one question: "Were the Caddoes going to continue to act as guides for the troops?"

This question explains the whole affair. No doubt Buffalo Hump, using the milder Ka-tem-e-see as a tool, had hoped to frighten the smaller bands into discontinuing the valuable aid they had been rendering the troops as scouts and guides. It may be that Buffalo Hump himself had suffered because of the skill and faithfulness of these scouts. It is certain that in the years that followed the wiley old renegade was much annoyed by these scouts for as a leader of the wild Comanche bands he was often
657 trailed and surprised by these very Indians. Although these Co-
648 manches were wards of the Government and living off of its bounty
186 their sympathy for their wild marauding kinsmen was stronger than that for any agent or soldier and they resented the fact that these more civilized Indians were taking such an active part in the interest of law and order.

657 In addition to these run-away Southern Comanches other
648 wild Indians made the work of the agents difficult and caused the
628 life of the reservation Indians to be haunted by many fears. The
101 were several distinct Comanche bands that had never had any inti-

[113] 10. See Anna Heloise Abel, The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist, page 318, for a letter from M. Leeper, once Comanche agent in Texas, to Elias Rector, December 12, 1861. In this letter Leeper gives a short biography of Buffalo Hump and pronounces an anathema to his memory.

/page 34 continued/

C 602 598 178 (a la automobile) but not on the same seat. John maintains that this no longer holds for his own children and that brothers and sisters will even dance together. However, I have never seen any of his children break these strictures.

C K 858 178 While preadolescents frequently break tabus, this is to be expected from the examples of indulgence afforded in the earlier days. The preadolescent had not yet come of age and was not considered responsible or even capable of comprehending the total network of responsibilities and strictures which he would have to follow as an adult.

C K 602 178 C K 608 [582] C K [178] C K [428] The range of recognized kin seems to have shrunken considerably for those younger than about 45 years. This is probably due in part to the fact that the ideal marriage cannot be adhered to and the resultant mix ups tend to confuse the younger generations (in its turn due to a less clear settlement pattern?). Claim relationships also seem to confuse the younger people who do not wish to be bound by them. To be so bound would certainly restrict the choice of a marriage partner to the nth degree although I do not think this is a motivating factor in the minds of the individuals concerned. The young people do not make claim relatives as did their parents. On the other hand, a claim relative of the parents or grand parents who keeps close contact with the family will be recognized and honored by the young people. The practice of inheriting a claim relative after an older person's death is most often considered a great nuisance.

Factionalism

C K 177 186 The conflict in primitive societies coming into contact with technologically superior cultures, between assimilationists and traditionalists has been proposed elsewhere (Redfield 1953). I have been attempting to determine whether this tension may be observed today and, if so, whether it can be helpful in coming to understand the factionalsim of the Plains Tribes.

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma
Kiowa NQ15

C K 177 186 /35/Historically there is some evidence that this dichotomy was an important one for the Kiowas and Comanches during the period of the 1870's to say 1900. There were those who came into the reservations and those who held out till the end. Later there were the religious converts and those who clung to the old ways of faith. Ever present in the Indian's judgement of his fellows was the gauge of just how white he had become; whose side he was on so to speak. The other side of the coin also held of course; how bull headed, primitive or whatever someone still was. To an extent this attitude pattern is in effect today but it is difficult to see how it determines the factions in the tribe or even adherence to a particular religion.

K 665 [795] To date I have learned more concerning factionalism among the Kiowas than among the Comanches and shall, therefore, deal with them first. People are vocal concerning religious tensions and prejudices (Christian vs. Peyote) and splits within the council concerning allegiances, i.e. Republican vs. Democrat, nor do they seem to pertain to major policy and direction. Tension seems to be centered over the methods of operation used by those in office. It should be remembered that relatively few are active in tribal politics and that both Christians and Peyotists are minorities. The large bulk of the population are inactive and do not even follow. They may be listed as Christians as often as not but neither go to church nor know much more than the average bourgeois of the East what Christianity is all about. Past field work has used as informants members of active leading groups and this study makes no pretense of being different. The life of the "common man" remains virtually untouched in this area as far as I can tell.

K [795] K 795 771 K [124] [114]

K 665 At present there is considerable agitation among the Kiowas between an out group and the in group which controls the business council. Leaving aside the sordid details etc., the line up suggests that there is a split here between a traditional aristocracy and an upstart, "shanty Irish," group. The opposition party consists of

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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Peyote

C K 123 Since my last report I have been able to attend one Peyote meeting and have been invited to several others which await the arrival of more clement weather. The fact that I have been to a meeting has made Peyotists more willing to discuss with me their C K 121 feelings concerning their religion. I have been interested in three questions: The present functions of the religion and its relations to other areas of life; the changes in the religion since its inception; and the relation of Peyote to earlier religious patterns. C K [123] [124] Due to the fact that I have not yet been able to observe a number of meetings at first hand I have to rely heavily on the statements of my informants.

C K 188 In the minds of the Peyotists, their religion is and has been a persecuted one. During the formative years it was attacked by the medicine men as being too White, by the Christian Indians and the Whites as being heathen and backward. Today it is attacked by C K [186] the Christians of both races as a backward cult and is regarded by the Peyotists themselves as the last area of truly Indian values and ways that is left.

C K 195 198 [178] Peyote never denied the older forms of power. It merely attempted to devise a new power which would be more effective in coping with the depressing conditions of the reservation period. What may be observed today among the Comanches is a transformation of the older forms rather than a break with them. A review of the C K 195 177 history of the religion leads me to believe in the possibility for a new interpretation of the "Christian" elements in Peyote. This shall only be done superficially in the report.

/39/Other writers have listed the traits of the cult which correspond with older forms of worship and have shown the new combinations which have been achieved in peyote. It is only important to

/page 41 continued/

795 177 186 The other difficulty occurred and is occurring on the every day level of culture contact. Peyote never demanded its followers to do things that were strange to them. They were not asked to give up wives, wear white man's clothes etc. Of course today this problem /42/is almost passe and many Peyotists cling to older forms of dress, etc., as a visual expression of their traditionalism. The religion of the Comanche Peyotists of the local organizations is a preserver of tradition. It is adaptive in that its "Christianisms" give it protective coloring and also in that its aggressions are projected to a future time. The unifying principles of the religion were never translated into political action. The intertribal relations remain 795 177 on the religious level. The Peyotists in the national organization present a different picture, one which corresponds more closely to the picture presented by Slotkin. It appears to me that the members of the national organization are so concerned with gaining an equal footing in the White world that the Christianisms seem to be taken more at face value. The statements of the representative of the Southwest to the national conference is indicative of a desire to appear more and more like Whites and to adopt more White tactics. The Eastern tribes, according to this informant, were more "reverent." They had much experience in belonging to White clubs (Lions, Kiwanis, etc.) and had learned by these associations to make their Peyote religion appear more like the White churches and clubs. But more than appearances is implied in the word "reverent." This implies an acceptance, I think, of the strictness of Christian doctrine in regard to personal action. I would interpret it to mean that this informant would like to see more stringent sanctions brought to bear on individual actions and attitudes, a move towards making the "church" larger than, and independent of the individuals. My suspicion is that in so far as Peyote will persist to any degree among the Comanches it will tend to become more like the national organization. This unless new factors enter the scene.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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619 621 184 721 657 southern (Wasps or Quick Stingers) band joined the United States Army in its war against the "wild" northern Comanche bands. This bit of "Freckle" treachery is still perpetuated in the war stories told by the northerners.

The most obvious contemporary example of the ancient roots of this Comanche factionalism concerns the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache constitution established as a result of the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867. The southerners favor a separate Comanche constitution, while the northerners view this as an attempt to break the long-standing alliance between the northern Comanches and the Kiowas. 619 621 184 186 Sanapia's statement on this subject is typical of the northerner's sentiment.

> Here, up to today, those Walter's people are trying to break us up. How could they do that? I got grandchildren that's Kiowa, and the Comanches are all mixed in with them Kiowas. We all together . . . got to stay that way. Those southern people aren't like us. All their old people are Mexicans. Well, they Comanches, same as us, but they act like white people. We've been with these Kiowas and Apaches for a long time, and we can't break it up.

619 621 184 795 Of course, this traditional–progressive and conservative–liberal differentiation suggests but the grossest divisions in Comanche society. There is also the Christian–peyotist factionalism, for example; however, like the other minor factional elements, it is subsumed under the greater northern–southern Comanche divisions. The northern people consider themselves peyotist and look with scorn on the southerner's predilection for Christianity—the white man's religion. The southerners consider the northerners' religious bias primitive and heathenish and but a 619 621 184 further example of the inferiority of the northerners in general. In my field research I found the southern Comanches, relative to the northern Comanches, to be generally lacking in knowledge of, or sympathy toward, those aspects of Comanche culture considered by the northerners and Comanche literature to be traditional in nature, that is, relating to the time of the nomadic culture of the Comanches and the values and world view which it posited.

[121] The preceding account of northern versus southern Comanche orientation is intended as a generalizing descriptive attempt. There are, of course, progressive 619 621 184 northern Comanches and conservative southern Comanches. However, the relatively rigidly defined spatial distribution of the opposing "tribes" will usually call for the progressively oriented northerner to move south and the conservative southerner to move north. I observed several instances in which an individual, in 166 order to visibly state his factional allegiance, moved his abode into the geographic area most closely identified with the faction which he supported.

619 621 184 115 [755] Sanapia is a *yapai* Comanche and an archconservative and traditionalist. The majority of my informants were also northern Comanches, though not all were *yapai*. These were the only people who possessed some "accurate" knowledge concerning native doctors and doctoring practices and who actually interacted in this institutionalized framework. The southerners, recognizing Sanapia's role among the northerners, emphasized the superiority of white doctors over the "superstitious" doctoring practices valued by the majority of northerners.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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attempt to discover alternative methods of expressing and relieving the potentially dysfunctional emotional states which now plague them.

A further suggestion that the ghost complex among the contemporary Comanches function to relieve intrasocial tensions which have appeared as a result of the myriad influences of the acculturation situation is found in the most recent ethnographic studies of the Comanche, which were obtained by the Santa Fe group in 1933. In all the materials published as a result of this group's work, the Comanches are not mentioned as possessing a great degree of ghost fear. This feature is very obviously present today, however. Since the Comanche "capture" occurred in the late nineteenth century, it can be assumed that a relatively large proportion of the Comanche population living in 1933, at the time of the Santa Fe group's investigation, would be composed of individuals who had actually taken part in the nomandic Comanche culture. The influence of this select group on the Comanche society of the 1930s was no doubt great. Their presence probably served to prolong the existence of traditional values and world view in vital form well into the postreservation-period Comanche generation; this would include the relative absence of ghost fear. At present, however, the majority of Comanches are two to four generations removed from the time of the nomadic Comanche culture, and it is among these people that the ghost complex has found new life and meaning. If the material collected by the 1933 group is indeed correct, it would appear that Comanche's attitudes toward ghosts have developed to their present form only since the 1930s. Sanapia has volunteered the information that the incidences of ghost sickness among the Comanche have been increasing over the last thirty years.

Some of the specific social forces which have been active in Comanche society within this time span and which have no doubt contributed to the resurgence in ghost belief have already been suggested. Conflict between the values of the white and Comanche society, increased intrasocial tensions in Comanche society, and lack of a satisfactory means to displace aggressive socially disruptive forces away from the society must be counted as three major forces toward disequilibrium in Comanche society. To this list can be added racial discrimination and prejudice on the part of white society and to a certain extent on the part of Comanches. Associated with these aspects are the increasing pressures toward assimilation of the Comanche society being exercised by white society. However, while the Comanches are being persuaded that the rewards of the white life style are more desirable than those of Comanche culture, they are in most cases denied the avenues to achieve these rewards. Through all of this, the gap between core traditional Comanche values and the extinct culture upon which these values are based continue to expand, leaving many Comanches in a limbo of apathy, ambivalence, and neurotic marginality.

The contemporary Comanche's belief in ghosts serves to relieve disruptive intrasocial tensions by presenting the members of this society with a means of directing frustrations, hostility, and other emotions of a potentially dysfunctional nature, both to the individual and the group, toward a target outside the culture's boundaries. It is also significant that ghosts are outside the boundaries of white

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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accompaniment of constant, periodically recurring emotional states rather than an expression of an emotional state (Alexander 1948:7).

Heuristically, the concept of vegetative neurosis is disappointing for our purposes. It leads us nowhere, for it contains no aids to determine the meaning of expression, the expressive "why" of ghost sickness, for example. A conversion reaction (synonym: conversion hysteria), however, is a symbolic expression of a specific emotional state. It is essentially an unusual form of communication. A mode of symbolic communication, to function, must possess meaning for the group, that is, the relationship of the symbol to the referent must be accepted by group consensus. Thus, if it can be established that ghost sickness is a conversion reaction in Comanche society, the suggestion can be made that it acts as a form of communication. If we can identify the referents to the symbology being employed in this communication, we can perhaps decipher the message and determine the psychogenic roots of ghost sickness.

A person with conversion hysteria substitutes a symptom for a psychological conflict. "For example, a girl of eighteen goes blind in an examination, thinking, 'I don't see how I can pass this,' and four years later goes blind again when her bridegroom is ordered overseas." (Cobb 1950:1514). Physiologically, conversion is no different from any normal method of expressing emotion, such as weeping, laughing, and blushing. Hysterical conversion, however, is motivated by unconscious impulses. Motor paralysis is the most common symptom in such instances. It is also noteworthy that conversion symptoms often imitate organic illness, that is, they represent the patient's notion of disease process.

Thus, it can be seen that the physiological nature of ghost sickness, paralysis of voluntary muscles, can be considered as at least similar to the general complexion of the major manifestations of conversion reactions. However, the nature of the precipitating factors involved remains a problem. What is the content of the "psychological conflict, unconscious alien impulse, or unbearable idea" (West 1962:94) which could cause a conversion reaction in a Comanche individual resulting in ghost sickness.

The Victim of the Ghost

In my study of the Comanche ghost-sickness victim, I noticed that a definite attempt at emulative adaptation to white society which failed, the unendurable psychological state of cultural marginality, and an extremely intense desire for reintegration with the more traditionally oriented group were the three most prevalent themes preceding the onslaught of ghost sickness. The victim usually sprang from the traditional group; therefore he desired reintegration with that particular group. Also, though the victim may have initially naively desired to interact in only one institution of white society, usually the economic system, his traditional group automatically defines him totally out of their category. Absolute outcasting from the traditional group is not what really happens in every case; however, it seems to be what the ghost-sickness victim thinks happened. The ghost-sickness victim will feel extremely anxious under the conditions outlined. He

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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does not consciously accept that he has done anything to deserve the negative treatment which he feels he is receiving from both white and Indian society. Anger toward white society and guilt feelings, perhaps based on his rejection of the Indian way, might arise in him. He has been judged inadequate by both the white and the Indian worlds. He belongs nowhere. An individual in this situation must act

The next problem he must face is the method by which reintegration with the native group can be accomplished. For this type of individual it is not easy, for he desires to become totally like the group which he once rejected. He must dramatically convince himself as well as his traditional group that he is an Indian, that he belongs. Simply returning to the family locale and indulging in self-conscious identification with ceremonial forms, for example, is not enough. He must have no doubts about his adequacy as an Indian. He can no longer tolerate ambivalency, and he must be as acceptable to himself as he is to his parent group.

Indian-ness and Ghost Sickness

In contemporary Comanche society there is only one trait which is unequivocally and exclusively Indian—the ability to contract ghost sickness. "Blood" means nothing because of the great degree of intermarriage with other tribes and the Comanche's long-standing custom of incorporating white and Mexican captives into the family structure. Non-Indians can take part in Peyotism, dance in ceremonial dancing societies, and speak the Comanche language. A non-Indian, however, cannot incur ghost sickness. Therefore, to Comanches, someone who contracts ghost sickness must be a "real Indian."

The Efficiency of Ghost Sickness

Ghost sickness possesses several other characteristics which make it a very efficient disorder for the potential victim. It is socially visible; the ghost-sickness victim can wear the badge of his true Indian-ness on his face. It can only be cured by a native doctor. In this way the victim, by becoming the patient of the native doctor, states his faith in an extremely ancient Comanche institution. Because this doctor will no doubt cure him, the victim's faith is substantiated. Further, the Comanche community comes to the aid, succor, and support of the victim of the ghost—the common enemy. Associated with this fact is the function of the physical ugliness which the ghost victim possesses. By being so "pitiable," he can direct the course of his reintegration to a great degree through the Comanche institutionalized patterns of generosity and kindness to individuals who are in a pitiable condition. In this physical condition he can make personal demands which he could not make and expect to be carried out if he were not so afflicted. Also, since ghost-sickness symptoms are admirably suited to the requirements of conversion reactions, the affliction is manifestly ideal for the particular nature of the intolerable emotional state possessed by the potential ghost victim.

31: Jones . E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Precipitating Factors

186 775 154 156 The precipitating factors to ghost sickness need not be as externally dramatic as those thus far presented. The drama and the trauma of these factors dwell within the psychological makeup of the particular individual involved. The contraction of ghost sickness can function as a psychic reminder to a Comanche that he is a Comanche. It can serve to reaffirm his ethnic identity. It may be a self-inflicted punishment by a native-oriented Comanche who begins to doubt his traditional culture. Ghost sickness has also served to dramatically solve generational tensions. A young person contracts ghost sickness to signal acquiescence to the parent generation's demands. However, all these factors are ultimately related to the disruptive influences of acculturation with the dominant white society.

186 775 154 156 184 177 The recently developed Comanche ghost complex appears to be a means by which certain Comanche individuals can circumvent the psychological impasses which have appeared as a result of the twentieth-century Comanche life situation. It is particularly beneficial for the traditional group for several reasons. If a Comanche individual chooses this means of relief, he is committed to return to the traditionalist fold. The ghost complex might be viewed as a selective net which the traditional group has thrown around itself. Those Comanches who are drawn into the conditions which lead to the emotional states in which they would unconsciously choose ghost sickness as an "out" are usually relatively sensitive and intelligent individuals and therefore valuable as group members. They would have to fully and traumatically feel their intolerable cultural and psychological position prior to ghost sickness. Those Comanches who approach these same conditions and who fail to react to them, or acculturate, or turn to such relief as alcoholism, would not be very valuable social components to the traditional group in any case. This "net" operates to more effectively retain the big fish, while it lets the little fish run.

186 775 154 156 184 177 562 The fact that men are afflicted by ghost sickness more often than women could be explained by several factors, particularly, the greater degree of independence ideally expected of men, coupled with the real economic dependence of men; in many cases, dependence on women. Women are more effectively controlled by the primary group, while Comanche men are expected to "act like men" in the face of economic difficulties and a white society which does not recognize them as men.

Change in Behavior

186 775 154 156 184 177 The behavior change exhibited by ghost-sickness victims from prior to the onset of ghost sickness until the termination of the cure corresponds with one of the desires which stimulated the victim to ghost sickness in the first place—total identification with the traditional group. They become model traditional-oriented group members, while, prior to ghost sickness, they behaved in a manner considered erratic, bizarre, or "crazy" by these Comanches.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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Oklahoma

choose to live on their allotment, the department will fence it and build them a little house. Every six months they will have their Grass Money for living expenses, and they can also lease out their allotment to a white man to farm.

Now Quanah had a question: "How is the Indian to tell which wife to keep and which is surplus?"

"That's easy," the department's spokesman answered. "Keep the one you love the best, the one you have had the longest, maybe the one that has borne you the most children, perhaps the prettiest one, or even the youngest and strongest. Since you can have but one, select the one you want to keep, and tell the rest to go."

It is always well to remember that the Comanches considered themselves as "The People" and were never awed in any company. In addition Chief Parker was proud of the fact that his white mother came from one of the first families of Texas, and I doubt that he ever felt inferior to any man. His reply not only shocked the government men, but sent them scurrying around for another answer to the question.

I think Quanah Parker's answer reached an all-time high in negotiating: "I have had a number of wives. Sometimes a wife dies and I take another to replace her. Once I had seven wives, but now I have only five. Each of my wives I have for a different length of time. Some I have for a very long time. Some for a very short time. I love all my wives equally. I could not call my wives together and tell them, 'Now that the white man is coming, his law says that I can keep but one wife.

" 'White man says I should keep the one that I love best. The rest are surplus and must go and live somewhere else. So this is the woman I love the best, and the rest of you are surplus. You must go and live elsewhere.' This I cannot do. You come to my house. You pick out a wife for me to keep. Then you tell 'em."

This ended the idea of telling Comanche wives that any of them were surplus. There is little doubt that any negotiator suggesting to any Comanche wife that she was surplus would have lived only as long as it took the squaw to cover the distance between them and to use her butcher knife. Nor would the three troops of cavalry stationed at Fort Sill have made any headway in quelling the squaw uprising.

Once Quanah Parker convinced the Indian Department officials that it would be impossible to handle the multiple wife situation as

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
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government and the several interested tribes, which finally resulted in the opening of the Comanche, Kiowa, and Caddo reservations to white homesteading. Many Indian leaders protested the agreement after their own interpreters had explained it to them. They maintained that Joshua Given (the same one mentioned in one of the letters to General Pratt at Carlisle), who was the son of the deceased Kiowa Chief Satank, had translated their demands to the commission inaccurately and had falsely represented what the written agreement contained.

In great rage, the Indian leaders made medicine to bring about Joshua Given's death, as well as the demise of the commissioners. Making an image to represent Given, they threw mud at it. The fatal seizure would take hold where the mud hit the image. The mud struck the image in the chest. On his way home from the council, Joshua Given was stricken by a hemorrhage from the lungs, and shortly thereafter he died.

When old Indians told this story, they had the members of the commission following the young Kiowa in death. At any rate, history bears the old ones out as to the untimely death of Joshua Given.

Some of the Indian leaders decided to take their grievance to their Great White Father in Washington. Choosing their own interpreter this time, they told their story to Grover Cleveland. President Cleveland assured them that their land would not be taken from them during his administration. Their trip delayed the opening of their land for homesteads for nine years. But in 1901 the Jerome Agreement was implemented. Each Indian then living was allowed an allotment of 160 acres. This represented the Indian's individual share of the once great empire, Comanchería. The white man got the rest.

When they had had such experiences, the older Indians were bound to have certain suspicions of Charley Ross, with his numerous white man's ways, white man's language, and friendships with white men. But he was devoted to the old fellows and had their respect. One symbol of the links he kept with them was the braids he wore, even though he wore a hat and his hair was scanty. I remember having thought of the braids as affected. But finally age and observation taught me better. The older Indians all wore their hair in braids, and these were the people he must stay close to so that he could help them.

He had other bonds with the old fellows besides his braids. He had a wife who spoke no English. He was fulfilling a Comanche tradition by caring for his wife's parents. Mrs. Ross's father, Mi-he-suah, lived

221
224 **The Comanche were** nomad buffalo hunters, constantly on the move, cultivating little from the ground, and living in skin tipis. They were long noted as the
181 finest horsemen of the plains and bore a
(186) reputation for dash and courage. They have a high sense of honor and hold themselves superior to the other tribes with which they are associated. In per-
142 son they are well built and rather corpulent. Their language is the trade lan-
197 guage of the region and is more or less understood by all the neighboring tribes.
(194) It is sonorous and flowing, its chief characteristic being a rolling *r*. The language has several dialects.

614 The gentile system seems to be unknown among the Comanche. They have, or still
101 remember, 12 recognized divisions or bands
621 and may have had others in former times. Of these all but 5 are practically extinct. The Kwahari and Penateka are the most
(115) important. Following, in alphabetic order, is the complete list as given by their leading chiefs: Detsanayuka or Nokoni; Ditsakana, Widyu, Yapa, or Yamparika; Kewatsana; Kotsai; Kotsoteka; Kwahari or Kwahadi; Motsai; Pagatsu; Penateka or Penande; Pohoi (adopted Shoshoni); Tanima; Tenawa or Tenahwit; Waaih.
101 In addition to these the following have also been mentioned by writers as divisions of the Comanche: Guagejohe, Muvinahore, Nauniem, Parkeenaum. See *Dotame*. (J. M.)

Allebome.—Lewis and Clark, Discov., 39, 1806 (so called by the French; see *Ne-mo-sin*, below). **Bald Heads.**—Long, Exped. Rocky Mts., I, 155, 1823. **Bo'dálk'ínago.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (Kiowa name: 'reptile people', 'snake men'). **Cadouca.**—Domenech, Deserts N. Am., II, 100, 1860 (misprint of Padouca). **Camanche.**—Pike, Trav., xiv, 214, note, 1811. **Camanchees.**—Pilcher in Sen. Doc. 198, 25th Cong., 2d sess., 23, 1838. **Camarsches.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 367, 1822. **Ca'-tha.**—Hayden, Ethnog. and Philol. Mo. Val., 326, 1862 ('having many horses'; Arapaho name). **Caumuches.**—La Harpe (1719) in Margry, Déc., VI, 289, 1886. **Caunouche.**—Beaurain, ibid. **Caw-mainsh.**—Gebow, Shoshonee Vocab., 8, 1868 (Shoshoni name). **Cemanlos.**—Escalante (1776) misquoted by Harry in Simpson, Explor. across Utah, 495, 1876. **Cintu-aluka.**—Corbin, Dacotah MS. Vocab., B. A. E., 106, 1874 (Teton name). **Comances.**—Schoolcraft, Pers. Mem., 620, 1851. **Comancha.**—Barreiro, Ojeada, app., 9, 1832. **Comanchees.**—Abert in Emory, Recon., 470, 1848. **Comanchero.**—Gregg, Comm. Prairies, II, 56, 1844 (Spanish form). **Comanches.**—Sanchez (1757) in Doc. Hist. Mex., 4th s., I, 88, 1856. **Comanches.**—Taylor in Cal. Farmer, Apr. 10, 1863. **Comandes.**—Maximilian, Trav., 510, 1843. **Comandus.**—Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus, I, 336, 1841. **Comanshima.**—Bourke, Moquis of Ariz., 118, 1884 (Hopi name). **Comantz.**—Gregg, Comm. Prairies, II, 54, 1844 (Comanche pronunciation). **Comauch.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 374, 1822 (misprint). **Cumanche.**—Doc. of 1720 quoted by Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Pap., V, 183, 1890. **Cumancias.**—Long, Exped. to Rocky Mts., I, 478, 1823. **Cumeches.**—Schermerhorn in Mass. Hist. Coll., II, 29, 1812. **Da'tsé-a'.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Kiowa Apache name). **Gyaí'-ko.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 ('enemies': Kiowa name). **Idahi.**—Ibid. (Kiowa Apache name). **Indá.**—Hodge, field notes, B. A. E., 1895 (Jicarilla name).

[p.328-A]